2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

584 A
[431] slight interchange of gifts usually took place, rather as a courteous gesture than an economic procedure. The only other formality was
[585] for the youth to sleep at the house of the girl for the first four nights while the marriage was consummated. After that they went to live with his family.

But before the marriage took place, the parents allowed about a month to elapse while they trained their children for the new status. The training took the same form of nightly admonition which had been given during childhood. Both young people were instructed to be industrious and to show consideration to each other. The girl, whose home would now be with her husband's family, was told that she must take over the work for her mother-in-law. A sample of such admonition by a girl's father follows:

"We want you to behave yourself as we have always taught you to do. Stay there in the right way. Don't wait for your mother-in-law to tell you what to do. Get up early, find wheat, grind flour. If you can't make tortillas, have flour ready for her to make them. You stay right there and make your home there. It has been here, but now you belong there. Stay home, don't run around. Do your work, carry the wood, cook something. Any work you see, you do it.

Don't go off to peoples' houses and walk around and gossip. Gossip may spoil a good home. That husband of yours, listen to him. Don't talk when he's talking, for he is like a chief to you. Don't beg him to take you with him here and there, but if he wants you to go, go, whether you want to or not. Don't one day get mad at your new family and think you can run home: a day will come when your husband will want to visit us and will bring you. Now that's your home and if you are lucky, you will grow old and die there. That is the way it is." (26)

●864 Both young people were also given sex instruction. Up to this time, girls and boys had been kept rigidly separate. Girls were rarely out of sight of their mothers, in the house or on food gathering expeditions. They were expected never to speak to a man unless he were a relative, when they should offer him food and then leave him. If a strange man approached the house, they should run out and hide.

This inhibition had now to be broken down in favor of a particular man. The girl's mother said to her:

"You will now have a husband as all women do. If you did not, you would be unnatural. You must not be afraid of him. Try to do as he wishes without restraint. That is what women are for. Do not object or run away. We are bringing this man to you because it is best." (7)

The boy's father also instructed him:

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"Your wife has not known men. Do not frighten her. If she runs away from you, do not follow her. Wait for her mother to deal with her. Be patient."

When the parents felt the instruction was sufficient, they would confer again. The girl's parents might say: "Our daughter is ready now. We have taught her all we can. Watch her behavior and if she does not do right, instruct her." The boy's parents replied: "You do the same for us. Our boy should know his duty but if he does not, you should complain."

The boy was then sent to spend his first four nights with his bride. He did not come in the daytime, "because he would be ashamed". He entered the hut after dark and left before morning. The pattern evidently demanded that a well-brought up girl should show fright at such a time for the admonitions and accounts of marriage always mention a terrified bride. One informant said she ran around the house until her mother caught her. Another hid in the large granary basket and had to de dragged out (27). This was done by her family, not by the bridegroom.

On the fifth day, the bridegroom having left before dawn, the bride's mother escorted her to her new home. The bride took nothing with her because it would not be good manners to do so until she was established, but her mother brought the groom's mother a small gift. The groom's family, if they were well-to-do people, gave the bride a buckskin dress and might also make a gift to her mother. It was not obligatory, merely out of good will, "when we had something". An informant thus described the formalities:

"He (the bridegroom) left our house in the morning and my mother and I went in the afternoon. My mother had her carrying basket on her back with a jar of cactus syrup as a present.... We stood out behind their house and waited to be invited in.... My mother-in-law came out, took the syrup from my mother's basket and put it away. Then she came out with some beans and corn and filled the carrying basket. She said to me, 'I have put the mat for you.' So I went into the house and my mother went home. My mother-in-law came to the mat she had placed and laid on it a waist and skirt and some beads." (26)

The young people lived in the house with the groom's parents until they had one or more children. They were still practically under tutelage; the boy working and hunting with his brothers under his father's direction, the girl doing the heavy housework for her mother-in-law, often with several sisters-in-law to help her.

As a privilege of the married state, the girl might now be seen at ceremonies and dances, particularly the puberty dance which

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So he talked to them, and then they spoke of whether they would widen the ditches and if the boys were practising well for the races, and maybe a man from some other village was there to tell them the news. There was not a man among us who would miss that meeting. 159x 617 721

We women sat in the dark, under the shelter, and told about the strange things we had heard. We told how there is a root which men carry to make the deer come to them and it makes women come, too. It smells strong and sweet, and you can smell it on the sweaty hands of a man beside you in the dance. If it is very strong and has been used in many love matches, sometimes it turns into a man. It walks up beside a woman while she is sleeping and makes her dream. 159x 517 [232]

We told how, in our village, a girl was struck by lightning. Someone must have been menstruating and not have confessed it, said the medicine man. So he called all the girls, took out his crystals and looked at them. "It was the girl herself," he said. "She has killed herself." 159x 761 821

We told how, when a woman does not seem to care for any man or a man for any woman, that person is really married to a snake. There was a man in our village who used to go out alone into the desert and disappear in a wash. His parents followed him and found there a little red snake with her baby snakes on her back. They said to their son: "What! have you a family of snakes?" He said: "No, she is a beautiful woman." That is how snakes fool you. The older women used to tell us, too, that if we thought too much about any boy before we were married, that boy would seem to come and make love to us. But it would not be he, it would only be a snake. So girls must not think too much about boys. That was what the old women told us. We must not think about boys and we must not talk to boys. When we were married it would be time enough to speak to a man. Now it was better to work and be industrious. 159x 834 864

So I worked. But I used to think while I was sitting under the shelter with my basketry, about whether I would get a good man and whether I would like being married. I used to hear a good deal about married peoples' troubles, because my father was chief in Mesquite Root. Married people who had quarrels brought their troubles to him. There was a post in front of our house where people were beaten who did wrong, and all the village would come to see and talk about what happened. 159x 622 681

Once I remember how a wife came, very angry. She had walked a long way to tell about her husband. "He beats me," she said to my father. "You who are One Made Big Over Us, he beats me! But I love him." My father used to smile at things like that. He was a warrior and a gambler. He did not care about beating women. But he always settled things for them. So 159x 684

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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857 another much of the evening. At other times they sit on the benches, watching
527 all that goes on and chatting merrily with their friends. When they grow tired, they join some of their female relatives in the church for a nap.

MODESTY AND SEX TRAINING

864 As indicated earlier, Papago boys and girls of five to ten usually work and play separately. But brothers and sisters or males and females of this age do not av[illegible] one another. When siblings of opposite sex occasionally join forces, they play freely, even to wrestling together for the possession of some desired object. Brothers, sisters, and cousins may roam from one house to another in mixed groups, but couples are not seen alone, even though they are siblings.

Children of five to ten have already developed great modesty about their bodies. A person secludes himself in a room of the house to bathe, and no one enters until he is reclothed. Papago undress only partially for sleeping, so that brothers and sisters sleeping together or in the same room do not expose the genitals. Children scatter behind separate bushes to urinate. Little girls at play are careful to keep their skirts down and pull their dresses well around their legs when they sit on the ground, lest they be teased for immodesty. (Surprisingly enough, when they are scuffling with their brothers, they seem unmindful of their skirts.) Boys playing together are not so shy of exposing themselves and will swim nude in the *charco* or horse tank.

There is no indication that children of this age group are introspective about sex. Sexual intercourse as a part of adult life can scarcely be unknown to them in view of Papago sleeping arrangements, and they all understand the function of pregnancy. Whether adults try to impart sex knowledge to children or they merely pick it up from what they see or hear is not known. Quite probably the latter is the case, since Papago children are trained not to ask questions and verbal explanation (except by way of lectures on virtue) is not a Papago teaching method. There is opportunity for children to acquire sex knowledge
[831] casually, for jokes and allusions to reproductive processes are rife in everyday conversation. Nor is sex spoken of only among adults; female relatives, for example, sometimes tease fat little girls by saying that they are pregnant.

THE CHILD IN HIS HOME

855 The Papago child of five to ten is usually happy in his home relations. In this period the mother shares with the grandmother the dominant position in the lives of her children. The mother assigns to each child his household tasks and does much of the persuading, arguing, or scolding that is necessary. But she is also responsible for the child's happiness, and he can expect indul-

865

865 AGGRESSION TRAINING--adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning aggression in children and means of controlling it; incidence and treatment of physical aggression (e.g., striking, biting, kicking, hair-pulling); incidence and treatment of verbal aggression (e.g., insults, profanity, teasing); incidence and treatment of annoying behavior (e.g., crying, whining, noisiness); incidence and treatment of disobedience, defiance, and temper tantrums; incidence and treatment of rivalry and jealousy in children; rules governing the control of aggressive behavior (e.g., imposition, inculcation, enforcement); approved forms of and occasions for aggression (e.g., rules, inculcation); etc. See also:

Profanity 195
Insults and quarrels 878
Crime 874
Litigation 891
Warlikeness 721
Obscenity 831
Quarreling and fighting among children 887

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SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND LAW

A Papago village operated with the minimum of formal authority and, to a great extent, it still does so. Each small and isolated group had very much the attitude of a family who arrange their affairs by mutual consent, showing the general tolerance of offenses which is necessary in those who must continue to live together. With the digging of wells which will allow large villages and the roads which encourage travel, this isolation of the village will cease, but it has been, in the past, a determining factor in social behavior.

The village which was, in any case, a group of relatives, looked up to its leader as to a father. His speeches of admonition in the council house were very like those given by the grandfather in the hut. As the Papago father never punished, so the leader guided in most instances by moral suasion. This would be impossible in a large and heterogeneous group, but the village was a small and constant group with common interests.

When differences arise in such a group, there may be enduring feuds; there may be a system of avoidances which prevents feuds or, finally, a glossing over of disagreements and an effort to maintain an unbroken surface. The Papago practised the last method. With them, an open quarrel was the forbidden thing. "People do that only when they are drunk" and the speeches of admonition at the drinking ceremony expressly warn against it. But they had none of the ceremonial avoidances which smooth family relationships by formality. Instead of avoiding particular individuals, they avoided harsh words or open disagreement with anyone. This well established custom is one of the difficulties in modern self government, since the public argument approved by the Whites is shunned by the Papago and one who disagrees with the majority of the meeting is likely to stay away. "I was afraid they might not like what I said." The corollary to such reticence is a criticism outside the meeting and the Papago expedient is to continue with this until some compromise is reached mild enough for public statement.

Training in peaceableness begins in childhood. School fights are rare and the problem of the bully an unusual one. Various Papagos have explained to the writer the proper behavior as it should be taught to children:

"When people have done us harm, they should never know from the way we act what we feel about it. We should never

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865 speak of what they did. Only we would keep away from them. After a while they would know." (31)

"If a man took my horse without permission and lamed it, I would not say anything. I would even lend him the horse again. If I should get angry with him, he would have a right to be angry with me." (20)

865 626 One woman confessed to the writer that some children who had just come back from the white school were bullying her small children and using indecent language. It was unthinkable that she should speak to the parents of the offenders. She had either to suffer or to move away. If the whipping custom be assumed to be a Spanish importation, the village authorities themselves had no means of enforcing proper behavior. They endured in silence to the point where they asked an undesirable to move. Minor nonconformities passed without a sign.

626 When the writer was inquiring about certain rigorous ceremonial usages which seemed to demand a good deal of sacrifice with little obvious reward, she asked: "If a man did not do this would he be blamed?" "No." "Would people avoid him?" "No." "Would they think him a coward?" "No. They would just think he was a man who didn't like purification" (9). Tolerance could scarcely go further.

626 152 This unwillingness to show offense could hardly operate if it had not its obverse in an extreme sensitiveness. The person blamed realizes his position to the full, sometimes to the point of violent suffering. An old story illustrates this:

> "A gambler having gambled away all his own possessions, bet his wife's baskets and lost them. (It is to be understood that he had lost all his own possessions before. It was the loss of the wife's property which was serious.) The wife did not reproach him, openly. But that evening she poured the food into a hole in the ground, saying, "I suppose this is the serving dish you like since you have taken away my basket." The man got up and left without touching the food. He went to a high rock near the village. It was evening and the people were all outside the houses. He shouted until they looked up and then threw himself down." (20)

The writer has seen incidents based upon the same attitude. When she was talking to an old hunter about his own subject, hunting, an old woman in the household wanted attention. She whispered to the writer several times: "He hasn't got it right." The hunter took offense. "I shall talk no more," he said. "I am probably an old man, who knows nothing." Three days of assurance and

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153 about occasions of anger. The question about occasions when a child has been ashamed is usually felt to be quite intimate, because it demands the admission of situations in which the individual must present himself at a disadvantage. It is therefore understandable that Papago children, those of the other Indian tribes studied, and white children from a midwestern town all showed a noticeable reserve in their responses to this question.

In so far as Papago children admit anger, it is most frequently provoked by the aggressive or inconsiderate behavior of others (e.g., "I was angry when John hit me" or "I was angry when Mary threw my doll into the fire"). This reaction is not greatly different from that of the other Indian and white children who were asked the same test question (see Table 8). If, however, we single out the resentment of clearly physical or verbal aggression as it appears in all "negative" emotional categories of the test, we find that in all the Indian tribes studied this type of aggression plays a much more important role than among white children. The Papago are near the lower end of the scale, and we have evidence from their behavior that aggression is relatively infrequent among them. We may, however, assume that they are more conscious of aggression and perhaps at the same time more vulnerable in this respect than white children.

153 865 178 Awareness of and avoidance of aggressive behavior has always been an essential part of Papago child-training (see chap. ix) as a protective device against the disintegration of the group. Even reactive anger, though justified, should not be admitted. Actual admission of anger by about twice as many eastern as western Papago children is probably a symptom of partial disintegration of the old standards; the code of behavior is breaking down disproportionately to the vulnerability maintained. Open criticism of bad behavior in school and the equally open condemnation of sinful behavior by various missionary methods of education are likely to justify admission of reactive angry feelings more readily than the indirect Papago methods of criticism—joking, teasing, and avoidance.

153 861 Another unpleasant experience which is remembered by Papago children more often than by white children is the discipline received from adults in the form of punishments and reprimands. The Papago usually discipline their children not by corporal punishments or withholding affection or favors but by exhortations, joking, or teasing. Final compulsion to desirable behavior lies in the exemplary conduct of other members of the family group, in praise, in the approval granted by the neighbors, and in the generally acknowledged relative authority of the man over the women and of the older over the younger.